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novel as one of the most remarkable books of one of the greatest living writers. He is a cautious critic who has left himself words fit to describe its merits. From its wonderful accuracy in depicting life, from the morality of its lesson, from the originality, keenness, and fate-like sternness of the author, we may draw the conclusion that it is a book which every one should read for a wider knowledge of the world. But is this the highest praise that a novel can receive?

4. — *The Reformation.* By GEORGE P. FISHER, D. D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Yale College. New York: Scribner, Armstrong, & Co. 1873.

IN expanding for a wider public the lectures delivered two years ago before the Lowell Institute, it has been the primary aim of Professor Fisher to furnish the ordinary reader with a compendium of the principal events connected with the Reformation, together with a discussion of its causes and results, while at the same time the researches of the historical student are furthered by references and notes. The lack of any similar work in the English language, with the exception of Mill's translation of the very unsatisfactory Essay of Villers, was a sufficient reason for undertaking so difficult a task; and the extremely thorough and conscientious manner in which it has been performed leaves hardly any room for supposing that it could have fallen into more competent hands. The two special qualifications of fairness and accuracy, required by such an undertaking, the author possesses in a very high degree. The subject was by no means new to him when he engaged to prepare the lectures on which the volume is based; and before giving them to the press he has greatly enriched them with the results of additional and laborious investigation. While his plan, comprehending, as it did, so vast a field and such endless variety of topics, of necessity compelled him to rely, for the most part, upon the conclusions of others, he has made most diligent use of the ample literature created by the Reformation, including as well the writings of the leading Reformers themselves as the voluminous material which the researches of modern scholars have brought to light. The two authorities to whom he has justly paid the greatest deference are Ranke and Gieseler, the accurate summaries of the latter being, in some passages, very closely reproduced. For the corresponding French period he has made most use of the more popular history of Henri Martin. With this, however, has been coupled a constant reference to other writings of German, French, Italian, and English

scholars, at once indicating the very wide range of the author's reading, and giving assurance that nothing of importance relative to the subject has been overlooked. With no unnecessary parade of erudition, the usefulness of the volume has been greatly enhanced by this discriminating citation of authorities, and especially by the convenient list of works in the Appendix. A careful Chronological Table forms a distinct and valuable feature. We are, throughout, impressed with the evident desire of the author to render a real service to his readers. He is especially entitled to the gratitude of those students of history whose needs he has kept so considerately in mind.

It is not too much to say that the subject which Professor Fisher has undertaken to discuss, considered in all its bearings, is undoubtedly the most perplexing of any with which the historian is required to grapple. The difficulty does not lie, mainly, in the vast extent of the field, although that alone is enough to render a lifetime hardly sufficient for a thorough survey into the peculiar nature of the subject. We may arrive at an impartial judgment respecting the constitution of Kleisthenes, and not fly into a passion in discussing the imperial policy of Cæsar. But the Reformation touches the very core of modern society; it is wrapt up with living issues; it is entangled with profound political as well as theological problems; it involves the most far-reaching questions that human thought has raised; it appeals to violent and deeply rooted prejudices, and to diversities of mental apprehension that seem permanent as the race itself. After three centuries we stand no nearer a solution of the fundamental problems than when the worn-out Emperor fled for rest to the cloisters of Yuste. Professor Fisher does not disguise from himself these difficulties. In his preface he earnestly disclaims any polemical intent, and discloses the temper in which his labors have been pursued in the frank avowal of his conviction that the points on which Protestants and Roman Catholics agree, outweigh in importance the points on which they differ. It is simple justice to the author to say that his work is executed in this spirit throughout. Although he does not arrive at the precise conclusion which so irenical a premise would seem to justify, his moderation and impartiality are conspicuous on every page. No charge of misrepresentation can be brought against him. With a marked aptitude for presenting concisely and plainly the knotty points of theological controversy, is combined a rare capacity of appreciative insight, which lends extreme interest to all the author's discussions of the doctrinal differences of the Reformers. He has no word of unkindness for those whose views depart most widely from his own. Indeed, this disposition to hold an even balance is so persistently maintained that we are

not quite sure that it does not at times approach a fault. Especially in his occasional portraiture of character, had he been less under the sway of this judicial temper, he might have heightened the effect without lessening the fidelity of his touches. The lights and shadows are so evenly distributed, that the canvas seems at times a little indistinct. But we can scarcely censure the excessive exhibition of a quality which, even in a moderate degree, is unfortunately so rare.

The plan of the work is very comprehensive. Beginning with a discussion of the general character of the Reformation, the author sketches the rise of the Papal hierarchy of the Middle Ages, and the causes of its decline, and then surveys the special causes and omens of the impending Revolution. This portion of the work is evidently elaborated with much pains, and presents little to which any one will feel inclined to take exception. Dismissing with slight notice the various inadequate explanations of the Reformation that have been presented, the author examines with more care the definition of Guizot, who sees in it mainly "an insurrection of the human mind against religious absolutism"; and of Laurent, who views it as simply a transition that leads logically to a denial of the "fundamental dogmas of historical Christianity," strongly affirming that it must first of all be regarded as an event within the domain of religion, and as having a positive no less than a negative aspect. But while thus insisting on its essentially religious character, the author does not regard the Reformation as an isolated phenomenon, but as a "great transaction in which sovereigns and nations bear a part." Giving it this comprehensive meaning, he follows Guizot in making the era of the Reformation end with the Peace of Westphalia. Since, however, he subsequently includes in his survey of its results the reign of Louis XIV., and the Revolution of 1688, it strikes us that it would have been more consistent for him to have adopted the division of Van Praet, who regards the long struggle that began with the preaching of Luther as definitely closed by the Treaty of Ryswick, when Louis XIV. recognized the throne of William III. Where so many things must, of necessity, be omitted, opinions will differ as to what should be retained. To our mind it seems hardly required, in reviewing the rise of the mediæval hierarchy, to enter upon the controverted question of the constitution of the early Church. Latin Christianity dates from Constantine. We are acquainted with the organization of the Church in the fourth century, but are by no means agreed as to its organization in the second. Whether the disciples formed a community of equal brethren was one of the questions which the Reformation raised, and which it has left unsettled. In stating what was held by the Roman Church, a discussion of the true

interpretation of the Gospel was out of place. So, too, we think, in fixing his attention so exclusively upon the hierarchical aspect of Latin Christianity, the author has been led to underrate the immense services which it rendered, — services which need especially to be remembered when we ask the question, How much was effected by the Reformation for culture and civilization? While he allows that the Church, through its hierarchical organization, did a good work by fusing the peoples of Western Europe into a single community, he does not consider in what a variety of ways it touched the life of society. He regards it as a mitigated evil. That the Latin hierarchy entailed great evils no one will deny; but what institution has been the source of greater blessings? It may be true, as he remarks, that the mediæval type of religion was pervaded by a certain legalism; but it is not less true that mediæval Catholicism was full of life, full of progress, full of aspiration. The true awakening of the intellectual life of Europe must be dated, not from the epoch of the Medici, but from that stirring century that gave us the cathedrals, the universities, and the scholastic philosophy.

When the author reaches his proper subject, he narrates minutely the external course of the Reformation in Germany, Switzerland, the Scandinavian kingdoms, Geneva, France, the Netherlands, England, and Scotland. The counter-reformation in the Church is then described, and the struggle between the opposing faiths is traced down to the close of the seventeenth century. To compress so much within so brief a compass, to trace the many threads of so intricate a story, demanded equal judgment in selection and skill in arrangement. So far as it was Professor Fisher's purpose to furnish the reader with a concise and accurate epitome of the period of the Reformation, the result must be regarded as an eminent success. We are amazed at the amount of information condensed into his chapters. Not an important event, not a character of note, has been omitted. And, in the main, these events are presented in just proportion, and the characters are judged with unvarying impartiality. This is true, especially, of the leading reformers, whose careers and influence are analyzed with evident yet discriminating admiration. Luther, Zwingle, and Calvin are portrayed with equal care, and the blots upon their fame are fairly contrasted with their shining virtues. The only regret is, that the minuteness of this comprehensive survey has condemned the author to a certain uniformity of treatment, at times suggestive of a manual. The narrative, though always clear, lacks the salient points which fix themselves in the reader's memory. There is, too, as it seems to us, a want of historical perspective. More space should have been devoted to political events. These are not overlooked, but their

relative significance is not fully brought out. It was, as Ranke truly remarks, the coincidence of spiritual and temporal motives which gave the Reformation its significance. Its success was wholly determined by the state of general politics. But for this, it might have remained what Leo termed it, — a quarrel of monks. The author complains of Charles V. for having no adequate appreciation of the moral force of Protestantism. But we are apt to forget that to Charles the Lutheran movement was merely an episode in the mighty events of his reign. Nor is it quite just to blame a man for not fully comprehending a movement which never fully comprehended itself. It seems to us that the author metes out scantier justice to Charles than to any of the great characters with which he has to deal. He describes him as a bigot and a tyrant. He takes pains to repeat the story that Charles, in his last days, looked back with regret upon his honorable treatment of Luther. But Charles was the great personage of the age, and holds beyond dispute the central place in any historical picture of the epoch. And when we take into account the unprecedented difficulties with which he was surrounded, the unexampled variety of interests for which his provision was demanded, the physical disability with which he was forced continually to wrestle, can we withhold some sympathy for one who, if guided by ambition, was at least guided by a noble ambition; who, amid the strife of sects, was almost the last to abandon hopes of peace; who could not without grief see the Catholic unity of Europe forever broken? Charles was capable of large views and was under the sway of noble sentiments. If his conduct with regard to the Reformation vacillated, it should be borne in mind that the precise aims of the reformers were by no means fixed. It was surely to his credit that he preferred treating with the reformers to destroying them. Another great personage of this period, it seems to us, is not made prominent enough. Three times have the Saracens played a conspicuous part in European history, — in their struggle with the Franks, during the Crusades, and at the epoch of the Reformation. The vast and disciplined array, that hung like a cloud about Vienna, did more to shape the decrees of the imperial Diets than the protests of princes; and the direct influence exerted on the Reformation by Solyman the Magnificent was altogether too mighty to admit of his being disposed of in a single line. In analyzing the course of political events which rendered the Reformation a success, this influence exerted by the East should surely have been brought more prominently forward. We do not forget that Professor Fisher would regard the political aspects of the Reformation as subordinate; yet even in the background a right proportion should be observed,

So, too, in the author's treatment of the latter period of the Reformation, we cannot help thinking that his careful narrative might have been constructed in some passages with more strict regard to the relative significance of events. He devotes nearly as much space to the discussion of the "casket letters" as he does to the Council of Trent. The story of the religious wars in France is given in considerable detail; but we have no explanation of the mode in which the subsequent religious and political attitude of France was determined by the triumph of the *Politiques*. The result of the Reformation in France was unique, and only in a limited sense did it deserve to be called a failure. And with regard to his estimate of individuals, we must believe that the term "guilt" is too harsh a word to apply to that act of Henry IV. by which he placed himself at the head of a nation. No character of this period is mentioned with more unqualified praise than Admiral Coligny; yet, according to the Duc d'Aumale, whose history of the Princes of Condé the author very justly commends, it was the pride and obstinacy of the Admiral that cost the reformers the battle of Jarnac and the life of Condé. The Admiral is surely entitled to our veneration, but it strikes us as too strong to say that he was "without a peer in all the qualities that constitute human greatness."

In no portion of the work are the characteristic excellences of the author more happily displayed than in the chapters in which he traces the doctrinal differences between Protestants and Catholics, and exhibits the various ecclesiastical systems to which the Reformation gave rise. His habitual impartiality and admirable powers of statement here have ample scope. On the other hand, the part which satisfies us least is the concluding chapter, in which he undertakes the difficult task of tracing the relation of Protestantism to culture and civilization. Here we miss the author's usual clear discrimination. He sometimes uses the term "Protestantism" and sometimes "Reformation," but giving them, so far as we have observed, the same meaning. But the Reformation he has been throughout describing as an essentially religious event. Its two positive factors were the assertion of the doctrine of justification by faith and of the supremacy of Scripture. While he admits that the reformers, in transferring their allegiance from the Church to the Word of God, practically asserted a right of private judgment, yet it is clear that this right was not one of the things for which they so earnestly contended. If we define the Reformation in the sense in which they would have defined it, it was the positive affirmation of certain theological and ecclesiastical dogmas. In this sense, too, Professor Fisher defines it; and, in conformity with this definition, he has traced its origin and course. The heroes of the Reformation, as

he describes it, are Luther, Zwingle, and Calvin. It is plain that what he means throughout by Reformation is religious reform; and in all this the author is entirely consistent with himself. But now that he begins to trace more broadly the results of the Reformation, he uses the phrase in a different sense, and includes under it, not only the religious, but also the intellectual revolution. Indirectly, it may be said, the Reformation involved this by involving the right of free inquiry; but how much of the modern spirit of free inquiry is due to Luther and his associates? The spirit of inquiry was rife in Europe long before the dispute about indulgences. The religious revolution was one of its effects, not one of its causes. If we would embrace among the results of the Reformation all that the author claims, we must give the word a very different meaning from that which he has all along been giving it. We cannot admit that the striking material and political contrasts presented by modern Europe are due to simple differences of opinion on the questions of justification by faith, or the relative authority of Scripture and the Church. Still less can we trace to Luther and Calvin the intellectual progress of modern times. When we rank Spenser and Raleigh, Shakespeare and Bacon, among the distinctive products of the Reformation, we surely must mean by the Reformation very much more than the religious movement of which the great Saxon was the soul. It is perfectly true, as Taine asserts, that we may see in all of them "a settled faith in the obscure beyond"; but, in the eyes of the reformers, this would have seemed a lean confession of faith. What strikes us most in these writers is the absence of any trace of those dogmatic controversies in which they lived. We think that Matthew Arnold correctly describes them as men, not of the Reformation, but of the Renaissance. The founder of modern speculative philosophy lived and died a Roman Catholic. The author will not allow that the Reformation is responsible for the sceptical tendency of modern times; but it is not easy to see how Protestantism can claim Hume and Adam Smith, and disavow Lessing and Kant. In a previous chapter the author discusses the question why the Reformation stopped; but surely, if it thus includes all modern progress, it has not stopped. The precise dogmas affirmed in the Confession of Augsburg and in the Institutes failed to win universal acceptance; and no small part of that movement, which the author understands by the relation of Protestantism to culture, has consisted in departing more and more from their letter and spirit; but the spirit of free inquiry is surely no less active. We repeat, that in this chapter the author confounds the results of the definite religious movement, which he has been all along describing, with the much more comprehensive movement of which it was only a part.

The Reformation and the Renaissance were great parallel events. We think that Professor Fisher's work would have been more satisfactory if this had been more distinctly kept in view throughout. It is only when they are regarded as inseparable that we can say "that the problem of the reconciliation of religion and culture is one for the solution of which Protestantism has the key."

In the printing we notice only a few trifling errors. The expressions, "French Parliament" (p. 49) and "German king" (p. 103) are not accurate; Margaret did not compose the "Heptameron" in her later days (p. 246), but began it in her nineteenth year; Mary of England was not succeeded by Edward VI. But these are very trifling matters, which deserve mention only that they may be corrected for another edition. They only bring out in stronger relief the uniform correctness of the work.

5.—*Handbuch der Römischen Alterthümer.* Von JOACHIM MARQUARDT und THEODOR MOMMSEN. Erster Band: *Römisches Staatsrecht.* Von TH. MOMMSEN. I. Leipzig: Verlag von S. Hirzel. 1871. 8vo. pp. xviii and 527.

ROMAN antiquities may conveniently be treated in several different methods. For many purposes the best arrangement is the alphabetical one of a dictionary, each topic being treated independently: this is the sole method familiar to English students, as the only complete treatise on classical antiquities which we possess is Dr. Smith's valuable series of dictionaries, inferior, however, in everything but the externals to Pauly's *Encyclopädie der Alterthumswissenschaft*. Lange's *Römische Alterthümer*, to whose merits we recently called attention,* is arranged on the principle of historical development, and may as correctly be called a constitutional history as a treatise on antiquities. The third great German treatise, the Becker-Marquardt *Handbuch der Römischen Alterthümer*, has a systematic arrangement; Topography, Constitution, Administration, Worship, and Private Life are assigned to separate volumes, and in each volume the subjects are arranged in their natural order, but each is treated independently. Of course each method requires a certain degree of the other. Lange has a separate chapter for the systematic treatment of each special topic, and Becker and Marquardt follow the chronological order under each head.

Becker and Marquardt's *Handbuch* has been for some years out of print; and in meeting the demand for a new edition, the part which

* See North American Review, October, 1872.